Fellowship

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In Two Sections—Section One

Reaffirmation

I will refuse to participate in any war or to sanction military preparations; I will work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races, and classes;

I will strive to build a social order which will suffer no individual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life;

I will advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment;

I will endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities, and races;

I will seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes.

—From the FOR Statement of Purpose

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THIS MONTH

A. J. Muste presents *A Pacifist Program for 1949*, which will give FOR members a snappy comeback to the question 'But what would *you* do about the cold war, about Russia, etc.' . . . . Bruce Sumner of the Bruderhof Community in Paraguay writes the first of two articles on the Community. The second, to appear in a future issue, will present the "other side of the picture." . . . . Milton Mayer reacts as you would expect to criticism by an atomic scientist, in *The Atomic Mind* . . . . Ex-Captain Ellsworth W. Taylor of the Officers Reserve Corps tells why he will never again have anything to do with wars and fightings . . . . and a Pacifist Research Bureau supplement on COs in World War II is something you will want to add to your permanent files.

NEXT MONTH

George Hogle writes about Petzen, the German town where Pastor Wilhelm Mensching, longtime head of the German FOR, has had his parish for 23 years, and of the impact of Mensching's pacifist spirit down to the grass roots. . . . John Swomley comes to grips with Reinhold Niebuhr's philosophy as he finds it expressed in schools and colleges around the country . . . . an interesting vignette by Carl Colodne on peace, freedom, democracy, and the Army . . . . and more. . . .

FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

The Unhappy New Year

It was a ridiculous situation, everybody admitted, but there it was. 11:59 P.M., December 31, 1948, and no New Year! Not a sign of a New Year. Just the cryptic little note that had come in the mail that morning to the newspapers.

> It's no good (the note read). The way you humans are behaving these days, my life would be too unhappy to bear. I'm not coming.
>
> The New Year

They tried everything they could think of—radio appeals by Very Important Persons, an all-state alarm by the Missing Persons Bureau, even a mass search by Air Force planes—but nothing worked. Even a very eloquent prayer, arranged by cable and recited in unison by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope, a prominent rabbi and a leading fundamentalist, brought no response.

The hands of the clock stayed at 11:59; the whistles and church bells remained silent; the New Year refused to come.

Then, suddenly, with everyone deep in despair, the door opened and the New Year strode in. Pushing through the assembled clerics, VIPs, brasshats and newspapermen, he made his way to the Old Year, shook hands, and turned to face the crowd.

"Don't think I changed my mind because of you gentlemen," he said. "I see no hope in any of you —not at all."

"Then what brought you, Your Honor?" a reporter asked respectfully.

The New Year looked sheepish.

"A kid in prison," he confessed. "A conscientious objector. He bawled me out. Said he had to finish his sentence and get back at the job of doing away with war, and how could he do that without a New Year to help him? So," said the New Year proudly, "I decided to help him. How about you guys?"

And that, friends, is how we got this New Year!

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1949

Defense—Postscript

Last month we commented in this space on the use of the word "defense" in connection with atomic war.

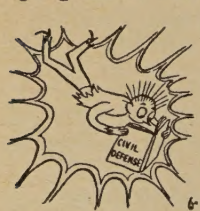
1. On November 22, Atlantic: Little Brown published *No Place to Hide*, by Dr. David Bradley, radiological monitor at the 1946 Bikini tests. Dr. Bradley points out that the Navy has been completely unsuccessful in decontaminating ships drenched in radioactive spray, and that cities bombed in the future by explosions under water or near the earth may be uninhabitable for centuries. Dr. Bradley concludes:

"There is no real defense against atomic weapons.

"There are no satisfactory countermeasures and methods of decontamination.

"There are no satisfactory medical or sanitary safeguards for people of atomized areas."

2. On November 13 the Office of Civil Defense Planning of the Department of Defense (War) released a 300-page manual outlining a program of "civil defense" against any enemy attack. The heart of the program is a network of volunteer units of "trained and organized" civilians "capable of meeting any attack the enemy might make or handling any weapon he might use." Admitting that a single atomic bomb dropped on a large city would cause 100,000 casualties, of which 40,000 would be fatal, the report says reassuringly that "Civil Defense would tell survivors . . . to avoid contaminated areas until danger is passed—and Civil Defense would know the areas . . . i would move about in stricken area restoring calm, reassuring th frightened, removing the ill o homeless."



3. "The military has always bee accused of being narrow-minded reactionary, stubborn, slow t change, bound by ritual, and th reason that it has always irritate us to hear these charges is becaus there has usually been an elemen of truth in them."—Gen. Dwigh D. Eisenhower.

Poor Army!

With a pathetic little whimper the Army announced early in De cember that it was cutting its draf calls in half. It seems that ther just won't be enough money nex year to operate the size army au thorized by Congress. If one wer cynical, one might suspect that thi is the opening gun of a carefull planned assault on the President' announced intention of limiting th "defense" section of next year' budget to fifteen billion dollars.

During the next few months, w suspect, the brasshats—and th civilians wit brass hatbands— will have fifteen billion dollar sounding lik something yo give Junior t drop in the col lection plate a Sunday school. They will point ou that fifteen billion is only the cos of two weeks of World War II and wouldn't it be wise to spend a little more (say eight billion!) now to prevent war later?

What they will not mention i the colossal waste in the armed forces, the millions of dollars worth

of trucks and blankets and supplies pushed into the Pacific a couple of years ago, the huge sums required for "tradition" expenses, or the size of the profits made by suppliers. Nor, of course, the fact that large armies and navies make war, not peace!

Reminder

When weighing the arguments of the military about the amount of money needed to do what, citizens and Congressmen will do well to remember April, 1946. That was the month that Army spokesmen, testifying on UMT before a Senate committee, revealed their astonishment and dismay over a sudden decrease of ten percent in volunteer enlistments (which obviously made conscription necessary!). Only skillful probing by Senator Thomas of Utah brought out the fact that the "falling off" had occurred *after* the Army had raised its passing grade on the classification tests by ten points!

Straws in a Foolish Wind

The clergy and laymen of a Long Island church registered opposition to permitting Britain's "Red Dean" Johnson to come to the United States. One of the reasons cited was that the British clergyman is "un-American."

* * *

During 1947 the Army spent $4,767,000 for recruitment advertising, to which was added $8,500,000 worth of free radio time and newspaper, magazine, and other space.

* * *

UN translators, reports World-over Press, finding difficulty in translating "atomic bomb" into Chinese, came up with *yuen-tse-t'an*—"an abominable little thing which explodes."

* * *

The standard government "loyalty questionnaire" is a pink sheet

three feet long with 56 questions. One of them reads: "Are there any unfavorable incidents in your life not mentioned above which you believe may reflect upon your loyalty to the U. S. Government or upon your ability to perform the duties which you will be called upon to undertake? If so, describe."

* * *

A new column called "Your Marriage" is being offered newspapers by the Des Moines Register and Tribune Syndicate. It is written by "the perfect team": a married couple who are, respectively, a divorce lawyer and a marriage counsellor.

* * *

Don't worry too much about the reduced size of our air force. According to Gen. Carl Spaatz, the 90 B-29's America now has, equipped with atomic bombs, would be the equivalent of 19,800 planes of the same type loaded with ordinary explosives.

* * *

An anti-war picket in Glasgow carries a sign with an outline map of the British Isles and the words: "America's largest aircraft carrier —S. S. Great Britain. Several million children aboard."

BIG 5 AGREE ALL WANT PEACE —*Headline in the New York Post.* Good!

The atmosphere grows tense; the lines are more sharply drawn every day. At the start of what may be a crisis year, here is—

A Pacifist Program—1949

By A. J. MUSTE

MAHATMA GANDHI has provided a perfect text for this discussion of a pacifist political program for the New Year: "There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the nonviolent method. Democracy and violence go ill together. The states that are today nominally democratic will either have to become frankly totalitarian or, if they are to become truly democratic, they must become courageously nonviolent."

I shall not take time to set forth arguments to prove that war is not the way to contain or stop Russia and communism and that another war would be a vast and probably irreparable calamity. Intellectually most thoughtful people, including the scientific, political and military leaders of the nation, are convinced of that. If the pacifist way is to win adherents, one essential is to show that pacifism can present a positive program for the nation that might work if it were adopted. The purpose of this article is to outline such a program.

It would have four main elements:

I. A domestic program that would give us a democratic society infused with health and vigor and that would fill other peoples with a desire to be like us.

II. A foreign policy that would convince the great masses of people throughout the world that the United States was still what for a couple of centuries they had believed it to be—the symbol of democracy for all mankind and the sure support of democratic tendencies and forces everywhere.

III. A foreign policy of imaginative and determined friendliness built on a cooperative world-economic program—under international, not exclusively United States, control—to raise the standard of living throughout most of the world and so to stabilize economic life both here and abroad. Into such a program the United States would have to be willing to put something like the money, effort and brains we have put, and are putting, into war. If we were to do this, no peoples would have any reason to want to hurt us; all would want to help and defend us.

IV. Readiness to join in universal disarmament and world government and if necessary to set the example of unilateral disarmament. The organization of nonviolent resistance to any attack which, in spite of these measures, might be attempted against the United States and other countries.

I. Security and Social Health

Civilizations are not murdered; they commit suicide. This assertion A. J. Toynbee and Pitirim Sorokin have backed up with monumental documentation. It is extremely doubtful whether a people can be destroyed or subjugated so long as they deeply believe in the way of life they profess.

One concrete instance of a gaping hole in our armor is our failure to practice the racial equality involved in our profession of democratic and Christian faith. Whatever else may be said in criticism of communism, in this field Communist practice is more democratic and Christian than our own. The result is that the masses of colored peoples who constitute the majority of mankind no longer look as they once did to the United States as the symbol of justice and liberation for the downtrodden, but tend to look to Russia and communism. Anglo-Saxon observers both at Oslo in 1947 and at Amsterdam last year noted this.

The colored peoples do not want to take sides in a coming war and will avoid it if at all possible. But in no case will they side with the United States in such a war. Let the reader reflect on what is happening in China in spite of all the money, goods and military advice the United States has poured into that country. If we practiced racial equality, we would have the friendship and moral backing of these vast peoples. On strictly practical grounds that would be a much surer and more powerful defense than all the atomic bombs in the world.

Under the circumstances it is encouraging that we seem likely to make some progress in civil rights in the new year. But there is much to be done and not much time.

Civil Liberties, Too

Another field in which we are winning Stalin's war for him, so to speak, is that of civil liberties. We are shocked by the contempt which the totalitarians express for democracy. We deny their taunts that democracy is a fair weather plant, which is abandoned as soon as the economic privileges, for example, of the nation or a class are threatened. We profess to be horrified at the thought that totalitarianism may be imposed on the United States.

But anti-Russian, anti-Communist, and war hysteria have already led to a good deal of repression and subtle terrorism in this country. The morale of scientists and government employees, we are reliably told, has been seriously affected by the atmosphere of suspicion. The military exercise increasing influence in virtually every sphere of life. Norbert Wiener, the M.I.T. mathematical genius who two years ago announced he would no longer make the results of his research available for military purposes, writes in the November, 1948 issue of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* that "the degradation of the position of the scientist as an independent worker to that of a morally irresponsible stooge in a science-factory has proceeded even more rapidly and devastatingly than I had expected. . . . American science is going the way of the American movie and the American radio. I say this with tragic confidence." In the meantime we go on with preparations for total war, and democracy could not survive such a

war. It is even doubtful whether people would survive.

Suppose we resolutely maintained and extended our civil liberties, confident that in an argument the superiority of democratic to totalitarian values could be demonstrated. Suppose we removed the shadow of economic insecurity from our people. Suppose we stopped transforming our schools and research agencies into appendages of the military. Suppose our science and scientists remained unfettered and devoted to bettering the life of man instead of preparing for vaster atrocities than men have hitherto dreamed. That, I maintain, would constitute a true and sure defense of the only kind of America worth defending, worth living or dying for. "The healthy community has nothing to fear," Barbara Ward, brilliant young editor of the London *Economist*, wrote recently in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine. Other peoples want to know how such a community works; they are not interested in wrecking it.

II. Democracy Abroad

By and large the United States wants things to remain as they are in the world. It is for the status quo. It does not want to see revolutionary changes. There was of course a time when the United States was regarded as an upsetting, fermenting, challenging element in the world. But it is customary for the nation which is temporarily "sitting on top of the world" to want to stay there and to want the world to stay quiet. There is not necessarily anything moral about this; it may be immoral. Russia, on the other hand, is now the fermenting, revolutionary element. That is the "natural" attitude of people who are not sitting on top of the world; and there is not necessarily anything moral about that either.

What interests us at the moment is the effect of this on world politics and thus on American security. The world happens to be undergoing a revolution—technological, economic, social, political, spiritual. The present generation of Russians and Communists did not make that revolution. They weren't even here yet when it was silently getting under way. Actually, we with our technology, our gospel of human freedom and equality, may have had a good deal to do with putting ideas into the heads of Asiatics and Africans, for example. On the other hand, the Russians could not stop the world revolution even if they wanted to. Neither can we.

Since on the whole the United States wants to keep the status quo and Russia does not, we are at great disadvantage in many places under these revolutionary conditions. The people in these places want to get rid of fascist elements, feudal hangovers, corrupt and dictatorial regimes or foreign rulers. Greece, Spain, China, the Middle East, Indonesia, Germany, are places that come to mind in this connection. We support the existing regimes in many of these countries and tell people in any event not to be in a hurry to change them. Above all, we warn them don't have anything to do with Russia and communism. The result is that in many key places throughout the world the right wing and reactionary forces gain as a result of our presence and influence. Russia, on the other hand, and the Communists, can pose a

the liberators who will take the exploiters and tyrants off the backs of the workers and peasants.

Let the United States stop supporting weak, corrupt or tyrannical regimes for the sake of oil or strategic advantages. Let it assume moral leadership of the movement for the liberating of exploited peoples everywhere. Let it become the world's symbol and prophecy of world-wide democracy again. Then it will have the confidence of the masses and moral ascendancy. That will be a truer and surer defense than all the atomic bombs in the world.

III. Redress Economic Unbalance

Almost half the wealth of the world is in the United States; the rest of the world has to get along as best it can on the remainder. Few Americans realize what this means to all those people living on the other side of the tracks—the same side the Russians live on, incidentally. This economic unbalance will not continue. No matter how much military might the United States or United Nations or a provisional world government may throw into the scales, we cannot maintain this status quo. Henry Noel Brailsford, English political analyst, said before World War II: "Not all the guns and battleships in creation, no, not if the League of Nations controlled them all, would suffice to keep the peace in the unbalanced and anarchic economic state of the world." Of course, it will not do other nations much good to try to take away by force what we have. But there is no consolation in that for us. It just means that the combination of our hanging on to what we have and any attempt of theirs to grab will bring war and economic ruin on us all. That is one way to redress the economic unbalance, the one that just now seems most likely to ensue.

The only remotely sensible course is for the United States to take the initiative in establishing economic justice among men through a balanced world economy. We spent $350 billion on the recent war. We are spending billions in preparations for the next. What have we but grief and fear and insecurity to show for it? "Like an infection," writes Barbara Ward in the article already referred to, "communism seeks out the infected patches—destitution, bad race relations, injustice, hopelessness—and there it can settle and ferment. . . . What is needed is a positive, sustained and world-wide Western campaign . . . initiating on the widest possible scale imaginative schemes of peaceful reconstruction and expansion that can capture the imagination of the world. In this way Russia's weapons of violence and propaganda can be compelled to turn in the hands that use them."

Let the United States offer to spend, in some such way as it spent during the war, on a cooperative, global economic program which will bring it about that in a few years not a child anywhere in the world goes hungry or is without suitable schooling, or need die of preventable disease or suffer without trained medical attention if ill. Let us make it very plain at the start that this will include—not exclude—Russian, Polish, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Albanian, Yugoslavian children and children in the Russian zone of Germany and the Communist portions of China. Let us not try to run this program by ourselves or ask credit

for ourselves. After all, it will save our own skins and provide the only way in which we can have a decent standard of living for our own children. Let the projects be under the management of such organizations as the Food and Agriculture Organization. Can any one meditate for a little while on what all this would mean and still seriously doubt that the announcement of such a program would make democracy the big, imaginative, symbolic thing which it is not now, which for hundreds of millions communism is? Or that this is the way to Make the World Safe for Democracy and so for people, children and animals which otherwise will be disintegrated by atomic rays or rotted by bacterial agents?

IV. Nonviolent Resistance

A growing number of people are recognizing that a negative opposition to communism and the Russian threat is inadequate and that we must work out some such positive and imaginative program as I have sketched. There are also of course a growing number who add to the list general disarmament, and a world government with authority over individual offenders against world law in all countries. But they still balk at the suggestion that if there is no other way to break the psychological deadlock between the United States and Russia, then the United States should take the initiative in rescuing the world from the insanity of the armaments race by pulling out unilaterally. Human beings want to eat their cake and have it, too.

Barbara Ward, for example, suggests, along with the policy of imaginative friendliness and reconstruction which she advocates "pooling the military defense of the free world and making it clear that further Russian advance mean war": in other words, we shall end the threat of war by waging peace—and threatening war. A lot of well-meaning people are speculating about some ideal combination of reconstruction and armament—so many million more for the first and less for the second, and we shall have just the right proportion of friendliness, on the one hand, and atomic or other military insurance against any misunderstanding and "abuse" of our friendliness, on the other hand.

All such efforts are doomed to failure. From a down-to-earth economic point of view, the world including the United States, is not rich enough to prepare adequately for total war and at the same time to repair adequately the damage of the last war and build a stable world economy. Psychologically and spiritually the attempt to make peace and be prepared for war is impossible. You cannot reconcile while you threaten or threaten convincingly if you really mean to reconcile. Robert Oppenheimer, head of the Los Alamos project when the bomb was made, has this formula for bringing up children: "Just pour the love in and it will come out." This could hardly be improved upon whether the problem be children or Russia. But Robert Oppenheimer and many others will have to face the fact that you cannot pour the love in while standing ready to pour on the atomic bombs—just in case.

World Government Weakness

Our friends in the world government movement, incidentally, will

have to realize that this would still be true if it was a limited world government that was prepared to contain Russia and communism by force. For every bit of force arrayed against them the Russian people will build up counter-force. They showed Napoleon and Hitler what abysmal suffering they were prepared to undergo under such circumstances. Do they have to show the United States or United Nations or a provisional world government all over again? An unarmed United States or unarmed provisional world government would be quite a different matter. That would mean that the load of fear was lifted from the hearts of the Russian people—and dissipation of fear is the one road to security in our world.

Finally, then, Gandhi's counsel of "bold and unconditional acceptance of the nonviolent method" means that if Stalin was bent on war in spite of the revolution in the program of American democracy which I have proposed (and if he could carry the Russian people with him in a war program) we and the democratic countries working with us would plan and organize nonviolent resistance and noncooperation. We ought to do that as systematically as we now plan for violence.

Very briefly, what might this mean? When Stalin now tries to press forward into western Europe he can allege that the United States has no business there, that he must make sure western Europe does not become a base for attack on Russia, and that he is liberating western Europe from American imperialism and capitalism. There are millions there who believe him; many more millions who do not like American economic domination or military dependence on America, any more than they care for Russian domination. But under the new conditions, from whom or what would the Russians be "liberating" western Europe? How popular would they be as marauders and conquerors?

How It Would Work

In line with nonviolent techniques, western Europeans and our own representatives over there would meet the Russian soldiers with friendly looks, would give them food if they were hungry, would tell them how they had renounced war and conscription and were living free lives. On the other hand, they would refuse to salute Russian soldiers, refuse to transport them or their guns in buses or trains, refuse to run mines and factories so long as there were Russian soldiers or officers stationed in them. How would the Russians, who do not have enough skilled workers and scientists to run their own industries, make European industry produce under such conditions?

And what would the Russian soldiers think about all this? The propaganda they had been fed about driving Americans out of Europe, about the atomic bombs Americans would drop on Europe, would be proven false. Democratic, non-militarized life would look good to them surely. They might begin to suspect that Stalin was getting feeble-minded in his old age or that counter-revolutionists had taken over the Kremlin, were issuing decrees in Stalin's name and pulling off a diabolical plot to destroy Russia and discredit the Communist revolution. They would be overtaken by a great urge to get away from this mad adventure and

go home—or maybe not to go back to Russia at all!

Once the Tsar's armies walked home—"voted with their legs," Lenin called it. It could happen again. It is even conceivable that it might happen at the close of a costly, long drawn out atomic and bacterial war. But in such a war America, too, would have suffered immeasurably and the America we and our fathers have known would be forever shattered. Put it down for certain that the Russians will never again play second fiddle under threat of force—any more than Americans will.

The one real hope is in having the Russians take the props out from under their own militarism once more because they have lost faith in it—not because someone else has a more powerful militar machine—and are determined on again on a house-cleaning in the own country. The only way i which American people can hel to bring this about is by settin them a good example, i.e., by re fusing to support American mil tary preparations, by taking th props out from under our ow militarism. This is the politic message for pacifists to publish i this and in all lands for 194 let peoples stop saying to eac other, "I will cease from war an wage peace if you will." Let eac say: "I will cease from war an wage peace, even if you are no ready. Indeed, because you are no ready, since in that case it is eve more necessary that someone beg without another year's delay."

Pause To Recall

The burst of a bomb
Dissipates long-focused light on colorless air;
Man in his prowess outrivals the sun.
He traffics in death in test-tubes he casually holds;
Seventy times seven plagues he deals at his will.
Man in the image of God?
Man dealing terror to man, a tyrannous knave!
Fat with his power, let him pause to recall
That earth-strider, Samson,
Who pulled down the supports of the temple
But knew not when it fell on his head.

—Elinor Lennen

APT FOR A NEW YEAR, THERE COMES FROM FAR-OFF PARAGUAY'S BRUDERHOF A CHALLENGE TO THINK OF—

The New Beginning

By BRUCE SUMNER

IN THE JUNE, 1948 number of FELLOWSHIP there was a stirring, challenging article by Milton "Stormy Petrel" Mayer.[1] It was a true word at the right time for the pacifist movement of today. It was a disturbing word, but rightly so; for though the stormy petrel is less commonly associated with the friends of peace than is the dove, it is a healthy thing to hear a harsher, urgent note amid the gentle cooing of the dovecote.

Peace is not a comfortable, easy thing. It is a sharp sword cutting painfully at all that is rotten and selfish, at all compromise and half-heartedness; and there are plenty of all these things in the lives of men today. Peace is not a passive thing; no other force is so revolutionary or so radical in its effects upon all aspects of human life. The peace-bringers and peacemakers in this world must be in the first place peace-bearers, whose lives bear the radical, revolutionary stamp of peace itself. That is why our "Stormy Petrel's" words are such a timely, necessary challenge when he says, "In our hearts we know that this is the time of the end, and that only a new beginning has hope. . . . The way men always ought to live is the way men have got to live now if they are going to live at all."

Yes, we know that this is the time of the end, the time of impending catastrophe. The blindest, least sensitive man-in-the-street knows this and is filled with fearful foreboding. The cracks in the edifice of our civilization are clearly to be seen; the rumbling in the foundations as one supporting pillar after another crumbles is a constant, ominous warning that the time left us is short. This is no time for the optimistic view. No slow evolutionary development can help. Half-measures will never bear fruit. It is the time of the end that calls for a revolution of our lives. The world must make a right-about turn and friend Mayer has made it clear that the responsibility to make this turn lies upon peace-lovers first. He has called upon us to overturn ourselves.

If we will not accept this overturning, we do not truly love peace, but are lovers of our own lives and selves. "The cost, the cost!," which casts a doubt across Mayer's closing words and makes him wonder whether he may not ". . . slither through, and it may be comfortable again . . ." must not appall us. The stakes are clear: life on the one hand and our own lives on the other. There is no chance of our winning both these stakes. Unless we are ready to risk and lose our lives for peace and the new beginning, as soldiers risk and lose theirs for some incomparably lower, less noble cause, we had better keep away. For peace we must go the whole way; half-heartedness

1 "Soon, But Not Yet."

and half-measures only confuse the issue.

Milton Mayer has shown us the necessity for courageous decision and a radical new beginning, but more could be said to the question, "What new beginning? What is the way that men ought to live?" In reality there is only one new beginning that it is worthwhile to make. It is the very oldest new beginning; older than all militarism and violence and national barriers; older than racial or class distinctions; older than all lying and insincerity and social sham; older than private property and the will to possess; older than all impurity and the irresponsible misuse or perversion of sex. It is the very first new beginning of man's first purpose; the beginning of his very first calling to be a brother. This is the calling that has never given us any rest throughout the ages and has constantly reminded us of that wholesomeness and unity of life that we have forsaken. Just this very fact that man never knows any rest away from his true calling, is our surety that to be brothers and true men is not only the calling at the beginning of mankind's road, but the goal too that will be reached at the end of that road. Our origin and our ultimate goal are the same, and this is the new beginning that must become reality in our lives now.

When the urgency for this new beginning is realized, it will put an end to all toying with blueprints for a new world order and silence the interminable discussing of plans for a just new society. This realization leaves only the one possibility—to live the life of brotherhood right now. No experimentation in brotherly living is needed, nor are study groups what are required. The simple but final decision of men and women to work together in brotherhood all their days, cost what it may, with all that they have and are and own, is the foundation upon which the new society can be built.

It can be done. Jesus showed us that by living the new beginning when he proclaimed the new society of the Kingdom to men two thousand years ago. He spoke then in no uncertain terms of the necessity for clear-cut decision, for singleness of purpose, and for seeking the new order of the Kingdom before any other thing. In his Sermon on the Mount he has given us a clear picture of the character of the people of the new beginning. Here are people with a faith and with hope and trust, in the midst of an anxious, hopeless, suspicious world. They are people concerned with the misery of their fellowmen; they are the merciful, the hungerers and the seekers for a true and just society. They are the peacemakers of the world, and therefore they belong to the poor, the lowly and the persecuted of the earth. The rich folk and the satisfied, the folk who are esteemed and well-spoken of by men, must completely change their way of living and give their riches to the poor, if they want to take part in the new beginning and to have the one, pure goal in their hearts.

The people of the new beginning have been called the salt of the earth; they are the people of the hard way, because on the soft way the salt soon becomes insipid. Their new beginning has been compared to a city of light on a hill amidst the darkness of their times; and a city grows by communal effort. Here evil is rejected in all its antisocial aspects. Love is the law of

the city and the spirit of its citizens, a love that is extended even to their enemies, and therefore murder, bloodshed and warfare can never be a part of their activities. But there is also the mammonism of the present economic system that teaches men to hoard while others starve, that commercializes and puts a price upon all human relationships; this, as well as the lying insincerity of present-day society, and impurity and disloyalty in sexual relationships, are recognized and rejected in the city of the new beginning as destructive of the physical and spiritual life of men. Here all religious hypocrisy and ostentatious religious activity are excluded by the direct, simple truthfulness of "Yea" and "Nay." All these things are just as much an integral part of the new society of the Sermon on the Mount as is the nonviolent attitude of life described there.

Now this city is not a mere pretty biblical picture or a fanciful Utopian dream. It was reality in the life of Jesus and among the first Christians, and throughout the past two thousand years it has been reality in radical, revolutionary groups that have kept the saltiness of life of the first beginning. Here is the reality of a common cause and purpose which Milton Mayer says is lacking amongst the friends of peace today. In these radical groups, the common cause has been expressed in a common faith and purpose, in communal life and work, at a common table, with a common purse and goods.

This is not the common cause of small sects that have exchanged individual-egotism for group-egotism and self-sufficiency. The only

Testimonial

A few months ago we too were incredulous, when we read about the Bruderhof, that a community could really live as these people say they do. But as pacifist social science students at Harvard we were despairing of any realistic alternative to the heightening world power crisis. Chicago and Yellow Springs conferences and their issue we saw were naively optimistic about the sources of the threatening conflict while their remedies were either superficial or deedless. So we had to gamble on the slim chance that the Bruderhof might be a way of peace both revolutionary and real.

That this is so we wish we could make you know as strongly as we do now, but because it is so radically different from competitive America it is impossible to understand this life in its flesh and blood without experiencing it yourself.

Pacifists everywhere subscribe to the "brotherhood of man"—here men are living brotherhood all day every day. Can men who want peace be satisfied with their efforts while the old world about them kindles into flame? Talk is no fire extinguisher, but here you can live and work to build a model for a new, just, brotherly society.

Jim Bernard
Jere Bruner
Sociedad Fraternal Hutteriana
Primavera, Alta Paraguay

really common cause is the common cause of all humanity because it is concerned with man's common calling. For this reason, an essential characteristic of the people of the new beginning must be their openness of heart for the strivings and aspirations of their fellowmen. But openness of heart alone is not enough. The gates of their city must be kept wide open, its tables must be laid, and its workshops ready to give work and livelihood to everyone who comes to share the new beginning.

What is the purpose of this article? We were asked to write about our Bruderhof communities in Paraguay, and instead we have written about the revolutionary character of peace, about the new beginning, the common cause of all men, and the city of brotherhood of the Sermon on the Mount. What have these things to do with the three communities at Primavera in Paraguay? Simply this! These things are the inspiration and the challenge that have brought the people of the Bruderhof together to live the life of the new beginning in accordance with the Sermon on the Mount. These things are so much greater than our small settlements that only in so far as our communities are identified with this new beginning and this common cause have they any enduring significance. Away from this new beginning and apart from this common cause, no movement has enduring significance. Yet it is of great importance, it is an all-important thing for our age, that the new society of the new beginning should find a definite, actual, living form. It does not matter that this form is small and modest if only it has the germ of life; an acorn is a modest thing to behold yet bears within its tiny shell the image of a mighty oak. What matters for the new beginning is not its size, but the fact that it exists.

At Primavera there are more than five hundred people of all ages, of different nationalities and from different walks in life, who for many years have lived and worked in brotherly community on the basis already described in this article. We came from Europe and established our communities in virgin forestland and undeveloped "campland" here just over seven years ago. The work of establishment is hard and has a decidedly pioneering character. Farming and cattle-rearing, sawmilling and wood-turnery for sale, are among the principal occupations of the communities, apart from the education of the children and the medical work of the hospital which serves the whole district. There are besides these a number of other smaller occupations. There is an open door for interested visitors, and correspondence with other seeking people is welcomed.

For each of us and for human society as a whole there is a vital question, "On what foundation are we building?" The principle and practice of brotherhood has been compared to a rock upon which we can erect the edifice of life securely. But it has also been said that the person who has listened to the word of brotherhood and has not practiced it, is like a man who built a house on a shaky foundation: when a flood came the river dashed against that house and it collapsed at once. This is the time of the end, and the flood will soon test the house we build. When it comes, let us be found doers of the word, and not hearers only!

The Atomic Mind

By MILTON MAYER

MR. NORMAN S. RADIN, who is building, not a better atomic bomb but what it takes to build a better atomic bomb, wants to have it both ways. He wants it known that his pure research will have "no practical application of any sort for a while," and he wants it known that atomic scientists are building better bombs in order to "prevent another war." I detect, in Mr. Radin's general affirmation and

Dr. Radin on Milton Mayer

Milton Mayer's article ("Vicarious Atonement"—FELLOWSHIP, September, 1948) is interesting, but childish. It seems to be in large part a crude psychoanalysis of atomic scientists which concludes that they "want to blow up the world." Does Mayer take this literally? A novel straw man is set up by Mayer in his emphasis on the ability of the "Big Wheels" to have taken "innocent" jobs, since they were financially secure. These people and even the "Little Wheels" today have not felt themselves economically forced to work on the atomic bomb. Their motives, curiously overlooked by Mayer although published often, were actually as follows:

1. They felt that there was a strong possibility that German scientists might make an A-bomb and destroy our civilization with it. (Incidentally, a glance at prewar physics books and postwar German revelations will destroy Mayer's claim that Einstein "thought up" the bomb.) The American scientists preferred the defeat of Germany to this destruction.

2. After Germany was defeated, these men continued work because they felt that the Japanese war could be stopped by the atomic bomb with less loss of life (mainly American) than without it.

3. Work on bomb development is being continued now because foreign scientists are developing their own. Atomic scientists feel that a clear superiority in arms will prevent another war, in lieu of other means of prevention.

4. Atomic scientists do not have much confidence in this method of war prevention and are propagandizing in an effort to stimulate the development of other means of war prevention.

If Mayer wanted to attack the atomic scientists, he should have considered these motives. However, the lines of reasoning presented so briefly above are not peculiar to atomic scientists; they are common to most people who wish to remain free in a world in which they have very few alternative modes of action. Incidentally, I think most of the "Big Wheels" had hoped the bomb would be dropped in a demonstration to the Japanese rulers of its power, but not on people. As it turned out, the destruction wrought by *one* atomic bomb did not convince the Japanese rulers that peace was better than war.

NORMAN S. RADIN
New York City

specific denial, the possibility of splitting the people who split the atom.

The practitioner of pure science tends to modify himself instead of his science with the adjective "pure." The rest of us Pharisees thank God we are not as other men are. The scientist, however, does not think of himself as a man, but as a scientist, and so the practitioner of pure science thanks God he is not as other scientists are. *"Thou canst not say I did it."* Who did it? Why, the bombardier in the plane. What—that poor lug? Well, then, the commanding officer of the mission. What—that straw boss? Well, then, the general staff, Truman, Roosevelt. What—that helpless handful of men? Well, then, it must have been the practical scientists, the engineers. "That's who it was, the men who made the bomb, yes, sir, they did it, I didn't do it, I never touched it, I never saw it—I didn't do it—*they* did it."

But the men who made the bomb, the practical scientists, the engineers, *they* disdain the honor, too. They say that they were only mechanics, performing obvious operations on processes they themselves did not understand. Except for their agnosticism, they remind me of the Hindu carpenter, who was left to repair a window. When the lady of the house returned, she saw that he had put the sash in backwards, and she began scolding him. "Good gracious," she said, "haven't you got any common sense?" The carpenter hung his head and said, "I am but a mechanic, madame. Common sense is a gift of God."

And, as something more than chance has it, the lady of the house in Allahabad was the sister of Arthur H. Compton, the Christian physicist, who boasts that his was the weightiest vote in the decision to drop the bomb on Hiroshima. Mechanics all, without the gift of God; without the common sense to know that the blame is theirs, ours, everyone's.

Mr. Radin, whose science is pure, is not to blame; his research will not have any application "for a while." Einstein, who proposed the project to Roosevelt, is not, according to Mr. Radin, the man who "thought up" the bomb. Of course not. The man who thought up the bomb was, of course, a German. *They did it—the Germans.* But Mr. Radin, once he lets go of his atom, doesn't even know his science. The man who thought up the bomb was a Greek. His name was Archimedes, and he died in 212 B.C. If it wasn't for Archimedes, the bomb could never have been manufactured. "That's right, that's right, that's who did it, I didn't do it—it was Archimedes who did it."

All Did It

We all did it. I did it, you did it, they did it, Mr. Radin did it, and so did his Uncle Lemuel. If Mr. Radin had the gift of God, he would know that knowledge is a continuum. And he would know that knowledge is universal, and that no fact more than this proves that men are the same everywhere. His faith in a "clear superiority in arms" as the preventive of another war is the same faith the Nazis had as the guarantee of victory. A "clear superiority," except of Russia over Esthonia or the United States over Puerto Rico, is unlikely at any time and possible only temporarily. Our "clear superiority" of August 6, 1945, at once galvanized Russia to achieve a "clear superiority" for itself. If a "clear superi-

ority" were known to exist, since it is possible only temporarily, the only way to use it is to strike while you have it. This is the logic Hitler followed and followed to his ruin. It is the inescapable inference of Mr. Radin's statement. But Mr. Radin is a scientist, not a logician, and, since he is also humane, he would not follow his logic, if he could, to the inference that we should have attacked Russia on August 8, 1945, or certainly no later than tomorrow morning.

Mr. Radin and his fellow-preachers of war prevention have appeared on the scene before. They are those who, in Paul's time, could teach others but not themselves. They are those who, in Isaiah's time, were wise to do evil, but to do good they had no knowledge. They are those who, in Webster's time, dreamed of liberty in the arms of a slave girl. They are those of whom it was said: "All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works, for they say, and do not."

Mr. Radin argues that a clear superiority in arms will prevent another war. But, apart from the unlikelihood of achieving any such clear superiority, it would not prevent another war if it were achieved. If Mr. Radin cannot be a logician, he can at least be a historian. A clear superiority in arms has never prevented a war yet, except, as I say, where the clear superiority was enjoyed by a Russia or a United States over an Esthonia or a Puerto Rico. And even then it has not always been a preventive, as witness Finland in 1938 or the American Colonies in 1776.

But Mr. Radin, though he is a scientist, and a pure one, is still visceral. He feels in his viscera that his clear superiority argument is no good. And so he adds that atomic scientists do not have much confidence in this method of war prevention and are propagandizing in an effort to stimulate the development of other means of war prevention. Here Mr. Radin reveals that he is not only no logician but also no gambler. The technique of hedging bets involves getting a little deeper into the better prospect. The atomic scientists are up to their ears in what Mr. Radin admits is the poorer prospect. Instead of propagandizing on Sundays and building bombs on weekdays, they should be building bombs no more than three days a week and propagandizing no fewer than four. Why they don't, if they agree with Mr. Radin, I don't know. But I suspect. I suspect because I know why I don't do what I ought to do. I don't do what I ought to do because there is no money, fame, or power in it. Men are the same everywhere.

Failure of Education

Mr. Radin's failure is the failure of education, which allowed him to leave school without logic or history. But the educational failure that produced Mr. Radin is itself a moral failure. It was not supposed, when Mr. Radin was in the toils of education, that logic or history were required for either Mr. Radin's contentment or his country's perpetuity. He was a nice fellow, from a nice family, with a pleasant personality and a background of rigid personal honesty. Even though the educational system did not require honesty or inculcate it, Mr. Radin had it. As far as his getting a Ph.D. degree in

physics was concerned, it was dispensable and may even have been a handicap. The only thing that was required of him for a Ph.D. degree in physics was that he know the difference between a vacuum and a hole in the ground. The reason I know is that I was in school myself. I flunked the vacuum test.

A Moral Failure

The failure which produced Mr. Radin was, thus, a moral failure, though not his own. The moral failure led him, an impressionable schoolboy, to suppose that we had a civilization that was superior to (or at least separable from) Germany's; that civilizations are destroyed by A-bombs; and that Germany might thus destroy ours. The failure led him, in later life, to prefer the defeat of Germany to the destruction of our civilization, using the term "defeat" for what we did and "destruction" for what Germany would do. When, in later life, he learned from official reports that we killed between 250,000 and 300,000 persons in metropolitan Dresden in 48 hours, he said, "We are defeating Germany," not, "We are destroying Germany."

The moral failure of education, which precipitated Mr. Radin's intellectual failure, led him to argue, after the German threat to our civilization was averted, that we should bomb Japan. Germany having collapsed, we could no longer justify our atrocities by saying that Germany was going to commit them if we didn't. The only remaining justification was to "stop the war with less loss of life (mainly American)." Mr. Radin will be pained to learn that this was Goering's justification for bombing Coventry, Rotterdam, and Warsaw. Except, of course, that in Goering's case it was the prospective loss of German lives that saddened him into slaughtering thousands of innocents.

Mr. Radin may not be a competent logician or historian, but he is no child. He knows that if what we or Goering wanted was to stop the war with less loss of American or German lives, we could have sued for peace. He knows that we had no interest in either stopping the war or saving lives. Our interest, like Goering's, was victory. And if Mr. Radin so much as reads the newspaper headlines, he knows that our victory is ashes.

The motives which Mr. Radin ascribes to the atomic scientists all four of them collapse on cursory examination. His intellectual failure is the moral failure of education which, in turn, is the religious failure of civilization. When, in the course of Mr. Radin's education, science was separated from life, it rushed into the arms of death, taking Mr. Radin with it. And there he is today, with his pure science, which can produce automobiles and refrigerators, but not nearly as fast as it can destroy them.

Cannot Extricate Ourselves

Mr. Radin and I cannot extricate ourselves or even, until we acquire logic and history, be aware that we are trapped. He means to be doing constructive work, and I am sure that no one is more incredulous than he when he sees his work consuming the world. What Mr. Radin and I need, since I cannot help him or he me, is God's help. God's help was given even the publican, once he confessed himself a sinner.

The Only Treason

A Reserve Officer Tells Why He Resigned His Commission

By ELLSWORTH W. TAYLOR*

IF THIS IS TREASON, I am not aware of it; to me the only treason is violence against the God-created men of the world. I do not know if I am beyond the reach of military law, but it doesn't matter. The only important consideration to me is the fight against violence and particularly war. Until war is dead, there is nothing else worth doing.

I am twenty-nine years old; a native of Tacoma, Washington; and at present a teacher in Kapoho School in Honolulu, Hawaii. I am married, and have two young children, a girl four years old and a boy of ten months. I received my commission as a captain in the Officers Reserve Corps after honorable discharge from the Army, following five years of service, three of them during the war, although I saw no combat.

It is impossible for me any longer to hold my commission, or ever again to participate in military activities, whether in peacetime or war. I must devote myself instead to carrying out my pacifist convictions, which matured through the study of religious pacifism in the writings of Harry Emerson Fosdick, Allan Hunter, and others; the lives of men like Gandhi, Tolstoy, and Kagawa; the Quakers; and the more than 5,000 men of courage whom the United States jailed during World War II because they refused to murder at the command of the state.

I have therefore resigned my commission, and with this resignation have sent to the President my reasons for doing so, as they are set forth in the paragraphs that follow.

1. I can no longer remain in an organization whose members are dedicated to the development and practice of the science of killing humans and destroying natural resources. Life is a heritage, not an invention of our own, and there is no man, or group of men, or nation of men with the authority or the wisdom to say when it should end.

2. I have made a treaty, infinite in time and space, with the men of the world; mine is one treaty which will be kept, whatever others do. If war comes it will have to come to me. I can no longer live in fear of my government or those of other men. I have created an island of security for myself—security against death, injury, and loss of property—in the only way it can be done. Life is too short to live in fear.

3. I do not cherish my appointment by the man who said, "Go ahead and kill them!" to the fliers over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I cannot follow the man who gives lip service to the United Nations, but does very little to make it

* From Worldover Press, Wilton, Conn.

work. I believe Americans and other men of the world are far ahead of their leaders and are ready for One World.

4. I will keep my oath of loyalty to the United States and defend her against her enemies, though not against the fear-blinded men of the world. Our enemies are our own self-centered nationalism; our refusal to share freely our wealth and living standards; our willingness to spend increasing billions for murder; our unwillingness to spend more than a pittance for education; the growing belief and practice that Uncle Sam is God. These and the group enemies of disease, famine, flood, ignorance, and hatred are our only enemies and to rout these I will cheerfully give my life. It is cowardice to take the life of another to protect one's own; it is godlike manhood to give one's life that others may live.

5. I cannot follow the thick-headed men of our government who turn their eyes from the thundering lesson of history that war never pays off except in blind hatred, blood, and roasted babies; that when the harvest of arms and legs and eyes and skeletons is in (the gleaners are still on the battlefields), there is more fear and more confusion piled upon the same old unsolved dilemmas. To any problem, solution is possible without war; our leaders, to earn their pay for the first time, must pursue those solutions with unselfishness and endless patience. Mr. Forrestal is right when he says, "War is the worst of all possible solutions" (except that it is no solution), but he is eternally wrong when he says (in the same paragraph), "The ability to wage war must always be there." Logically, he cannot hold on to both statements.

6. I cannot follow men like Secretary Forrestal who, in the 1929 stock crash, made nearly a million dollars out of the wrecked fortunes of others. That is our "free enterprise." But since the money was made by means of "perfectly legal" holding companies in Canada, not a cent of income tax was paid on it (according to *Life* and several other periodicals). That is robbery piled on robbery. I would like to hear Mr. Forrestal's definition of patriotism.

7. As a taxpaying citizen I would show our faith in the United Nations by transferring to its authority the whole structures and personnel and financing of our Defense and State Departments, to be administered by the Little Assembly, which is not subject to Russian veto. The United Nations must have flesh and blood on its skeleton before we can expect it to walk alone. We must leave like wise rats these sinking old ships of state.

8. I stand on the side of men of peace: Mahatma Gandhi, Leo Tolstoy, Toyohiko Kagawa, Norman Thomas, the Quakers, and the more than 5,000 men of courage whom the United States jailed during World War II because they refused to murder at the command of the state.

9. For me there will be no future war. The only way to prevent it is for the men of the world (the dupes who do the killing) to steadfastly refuse to fight, believing that nothing is worse than the reasoned insanity of organized murder. When the diplomats find they have no armies to back up their bluffs

the world will be treated to a different brand of diplomacy.

10. I know that the Russians, the Japanese and Germans, and all other men of the world are peace-loving, war-hating people just like us; but also like us they bend under the propaganda and threatened coercion of the governments that are sworn to serve them and guarantee their lives, liberty, and pursuit of happiness. They soon demand our lives, limit our liberty, and make an obstacle course of our pursuit of happiness. I do not approve the violence and lies of the Russian leaders, just as I do not approve the lies and violence of our own leaders; but to any individual Russian I hold out my hand in eternal friendship.

11. It is unthinkable and unnecessary that there should be another war.

We Know Not What We Do

The new technique of sin is this:
that each should take so small a part
it leaves no record on the heart
whether he fashions pain or bliss.
Murder conceals its end so well
that none must dream he draws his breath
in the assembly line of death
who fabricates one nail for hell,
one little innocent nail, or sweeps
the floor where skilful minds conspire
schisms within the core of fire,
oblivious to who sows or reaps.

So slight the stain upon each hand
there is no hand that must drip red
as Cain's above his brother, dead.
And yet who of us has not stood
some little hour at the great loom
whereon is woven our brother's doom?
We make of death our livelihood
and never ask the end, the goal
of what we serve. Though we are paid
in full the price for life betrayed
have we not forfeited the soul?

—Peggy Pond Church

News from the Peace Front

Non-Registrants' Cases Prosecuted Promptly

Contrary to some reports at registration time, the government is evidently following the policy of prosecuting very promptly the cases of non-registrant COs. The first non-registrant to be convicted under the Selective Service Act 1948 was Ralph Cook, of Portland, Maine, who on September 28 received a two-year sentence, and is now in the Federal Correctional Institution at Danbury, Connecticut.

Sander Katz, 24, New York non-registrant who during the war served 19 months of a two-year sentence for refusing to report for induction, was sentenced on November 18 to a year and a day by Federal Judge Harold R. Medina. The judge wished to give Katz five years on probation instead of sending him to jail, but the probation officer informed him that one of the terms of probation was compliance with the law, and that as long as Katz continued his refusal to register he would be ineligible for probation.

James S. Lovett, 23, of Fallsington, Pennsylvania, non-registrant who, with his wife, was to leave shortly for China under the auspices of the American Friends Service Committee, received a year and a day suspended sentence, and was placed on probation for two years. He was released in the custody of the Friends and will be allowed to go to China, as had been originally intended.

J. Kingsley Widmer, 23-year-old combat veteran and student at the University of Minnesota, received an 8-months sentence on November 8 for refusal to register. He stated that he took the position because "the Army is not a democratic institution," pointing to its denial of basic civil rights, its continued racial segregation, etc., but said that he agreed at present with those who felt the law was necessary for defense reasons.

Robert White, New York actor and non-registrant, was arrested in the latter part of October and released in $1,000 bail for arraignment before the Grand Jury.

Claire Street, FOR member who was sentenced on November 25, 1947, to 18 months' imprisonment for refusing to report for induction into the Army under the wartime Selective Service Act, and who received a pardon on December 24, 1947, from the President's Amnesty Board, was arrested on November 7, 1948, for refusal to register under the Selective Service Act 1948.

Gregory Votaw, 20, University of Chicago student and active member of Peacemakers, was arrested and arraigned in Chicago on November 5 and released in $500 bond.

Walter Coppeck, Atlee Shidler, Arthur Emlen and Gilbert McFadden pleaded guilty on November 15 in Los Angeles court to refusal to register. Philip Howard and Robert Richter at the same time pleaded not guilty. Sentencing was put off for two weeks in the first four cases, and a date set for the

trial of Howard and Richter. The courtroom was packed, with more than fifty people standing. When the CO cases were finished, the entire audience, with the exception of five spectators, got up and marched solemnly out. More than sixty students, including the entire football team, came from LaVerne College, where Atlee Shidler attends. A good delegation came from Whittier College too, and more than 75 per cent of the audience were students.

J. Newton Garver, FOR member and a student at Swarthmore College, on November 22 received a sentence of a year and a day in jail for refusing to register for the draft. U. S. District Court Judge Ganey before whom he was arraigned on November 15, had given him a week to "do something substantial toward the draft," but when he returned on November 22 Garver said he could not support the act, "which has as its sole purpose the raising and training of an army to wage war."

Charles Rickert, 19-year-old Bluffton (Ohio) College football player, class president and president of the College "Y," was arrested on November 8 for refusal to register.

Glenn Smiley reports that he knows two former CPS men and one veteran who registered and asked for IV-E classification and who have received I-A instead. In the New York and California cases, and in others throughout the country, older pacifists have gone to court to state their agreement with the stand taken by young nonregistrants or to affirm their belief that a stand taken on conscience should be respected, even if they don't agree with it.

New Draft Rules Affect COs

A new Selective Service regulation has been put into effect which requires the local board to classify each registrant in the lowest classification for which he is eligible. The lowest classification now is V-A, then IV-F, IV-E, IV-D, and so on to the highest, which is I-A. This reverses the wartime practice of putting most in I-A and later considering claims to deferment.

A CO who wants IV-E classification, therefore, and who is classified IV-D or I-A, or anything between, must appeal within ten days or forfeit his right to appeal entirely. The local board is absolutely *not required* to consider the conscientious objections of one who has previously accepted farm or dependency deferment, for example, even if those deferments should be abolished. A registrant's classification is always subject to review and to a higher classification—that is, one nearer to I-A. The only basis on which a man can be re-classified into a lower classification would be if he acquired a dependent or some other change in his status occurred.

If a local board classifies a conscientious objector who is opposed to a noncombatant service in any classification above IV-E it means that his conscientious objections have been denied. If he fails to appeal within ten days from any classification above IV-E he has forfeited his legal right to classification in class IV-E.

Sending in your FOR pledge this month will enable the staff to spend less time raising money and more building peace.

Peacemakers Mutual Security Plan

The Yellow Springs Peacemakers group, a high proportion of whose members are also FOR members, has worked out a financial mutual security plan against possible loss of livelihood by members of the group due to imprisonment or other consequences of Peacemaker activity. The Ohio State FOR organization is working on a plan to set up such a mutual security arrangement for the entire Ohio FOR membership.

The plan calls for the setting up of a fund to be subscribed by the group through a voluntary underwriting arrangement whereby each will set as his own upper limit an amount not to exceed one day's income per week. This standard was agreed to because it is understood that participation will be sincerely and deeply felt, and that this is not just another charity. Only that portion of each member's upper limit will be collected each week which is needed at the time, and assessments will be pro rata.

Weekly allowances to dependents under the plan will be paid automatically when a bona fide need occurs, and will last as long as the need exists, and special payments may be made in cases of special need, such as illness. The standard subsistence allowance for an adult has been set at $12 per week, and for a child under twelve at $8 per week. "The recipient is expected to accept the allowance in good faith," the plan states, "without any feeling of being an object of charity, and without any responsibility for repayment."

Of equal importance, the group feels, are the psychological and spiritual needs of a person who suddenly finds himself alone. The group will make certain that none of these persons is left out of the social and spiritual life of the group.

The group will also act as a clearing house for cooperative housing among members of the group and others of kindred spirit.

The Yellow Springs Peacemakers group likewise did a unique job of reconciliation with the American Legion when the Freedom Train visited their area. They had the local Legion Commander to lunch, helped the Legion collect signatures to the Freedom Pledge, and distributed a small leaflet explaining Peacemakers' aims and opposition to war, including their own amplified version of the Pledge (which the Commander had OK'd) to people who signed and to those who visited the Freedom Train.

Judge Dismisses Jersey Race Suit

Charles Storey, Negro who was denied admission to the Palisades (N.J.) Amusement Park swimming pool last May 29, is appealing his suit against the Park, which was dismissed in November by District Judge John Lynn. New Jersey, since about a year ago, has had an excellent and comprehensive anti-discrimination law, but Judge Lynn ruled that while the law mentioned "bathhouses," it did not mention swimming pools. The Palisades pool of course has showers and facilities for dressing and undressing.

Already on appeal is a similar discrimination case, also that of a CORE member, which took place a year previous at the pool.

Three National Conferences in 1949

The Planning Committee for the 1949 Annual FOR National Conference has announced that there will be three sections this year. The first will be held in the South from August 16-21, and will probably be in or near Asheville, North Carolina. The second, August 23-28, will be in Colorado, near Denver. The third will be held from August 30-September 4, and will be in the midwest, either in Michigan or Wisconsin.

Muriel Lester is expected to be in this country at the time, and the Committee hopes to have her at each of the three conferences. Further details about programs and places will be announced later. Make room for one of these Conferences in your vacation program!

Brethren Advise Men Facing Draft

The Brethren Service Commission has issued a one-page sheet entitled "Am I a CO?" to give some guidance to young men who are facing the draft. In three sections, the first says "You are probably not a CO if—" for instance, you believe that America should be prepared to fight, that God may, in some circumstances, wish you to go to war, or if you are willing to work in a job directly connected with the war effort. You probably *are* a CO, the sheet goes on, if you believe that it is always against God's will to wage war, that this country should spend its energies making peace, with none left over for war preparations, or if you believe that a truly Christian America would not drop a bomb on Moscow, even in self-defense.

Then it adds, "To be a CO, you do not need—" to be perfect; to know exactly what you would do if your family were attacked by a maniac; to know exactly what Russia would do if America suddenly became pacifist; or to renounce the idea of a police force that uses some force to capture an individual criminal, but does not bomb thousands, or destroy cities. It advises, however, that these questions will almost certainly be asked, and should be thought through as far as possible.

Copies of the sheet, which is a bit more detailed than has been indicated here, may be obtained from the Brethren Service Commission, 22 South State Street, Elgin, Illinois.

Army to Push UMT in January

In the early part of November it was reported several times by radio newscasters that the Army intended to push for the passage of UMT in January. The new Congress will convene then with a Democratic majority and a number of liberal Congressmen and women, but it is hard to say yet how the line-up for and against UMT will be.

President Truman, of course, has tried frequently to get such a law passed. The Army has made clear, even stating its intention explicitly, that the peacetime draft is only a substitute until it can get UMT through, and that the draft will be continued until it is passed.

WANTED: Your life, in ARMY OF GOD! Exclusive, Gandhian, transforming. Details, write G. Robert Tipton, M. R, 3, Colorado Springs, Colorado.

West Consolidates Military Position

Since the end of the war and before, the United States and the nations of western Europe have been gradually consolidating into a military alliance intended to oppose Russia. On October 27 that purpose was specifically announced in connection with a two-day conference of the foreign ministers of Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, which approved strategic plans for use "in the event of war with Russia," and at which it was agreed to open negotiations for a North Atlantic pact with this country.

On October 4 the appointment of a five-nation military command in western Europe, including those named above, was announced. The same day United States officials said that this was one of the key moves necessary before this country could "associate" itself with the western European defense union, and indicated that if the union continued along this line United States support with arms and funds would be forthcoming.

State Department Makes Pro-Franco Moves

On October 6 it was reported by the *New York Times* that Secretary of State Marshall had proposed to Foreign Secretary Bevin of Britain and Foreign Minister Schuman of France that the United Nations General Assembly be asked to rescind a resolution it adopted December 12, 1946, recommending the withdrawal of the chiefs of diplomatic missions of the United Nations from Spain. The State Department's official position on Spain is that it hopes that country will take her place as a respected member of the United Nations, but that it is up to the Spanish themselves to demonstrate and convince others that they should be so regarded.

During the fall a number of other incidents have indicated that this country hopes to establish close relations with the Fascist Franco government, to get it into the UN and probably into ERP. James A. Farley, on a visit to Spain this fall, declared that her present isolation by other nations was ridiculous. Eric Johnston, former chairman of the United States Chamber of Commerce, said the same. On October 5, Senator Chan Gurney, (R., S.D.) Chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, asked for an immediate military alliance of the United States with the anti-Communist bloc, including Spain.

This country has already made a deal with Franco whereby it receives permission to land Army planes anywhere in Spain in return for help in improving Spanish airfields. Great Britain is at present negotiating with Franco for the renewal of a commercial agreement which expires in January.

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All, young or old, everywhere can assist in bettering conditions for Normal Christian Family Life and greatly decrease divorces and unlawful marriages in our country. Write for free particulars. Family Protection League of USA, Inc., Corona, California.

Communist Armies Gain in China

In November the Chinese government and its armed forces suddenly seemed to crumble before the advance of the Chinese Communist armies. On November 13 the Canadian government officially warned all its nationals to leave China unless they had urgent business there, and the United States government announced that it was making ships available for the evacuation of Americans.

On November 18 Secretary Forrestal announced that 1250 Marines were being dispatched to reinforce the 3600 already at the naval station at Tsingtao, and on November 24 another shipment of Marines was dispatched from Guam. On November 22 Mme. Chiang Kai-shek made a radio appeal for American support to enable the Chinese government to carry on the "righteous war" against "this evil Communist threat." Although the exact amount of material aid given by Russia to the Chinese Communists is not known, it is certainly not nearly as much as the $2 1/3 billion this country has given to the Nationalist government, according to Drew Pearson and others.

It seemed to be the consensus of liberal opinion that, while the Chinese Communist program appeared to be cynically ruthless, economically unsound, swayed by Moscow, and feared by many Chinese, it was still preferable to the great majority of the peasants when compared with the Nationalist program, and that to a considerable extent the Chinese government was collapsing because of its own weakness, corruption and stupidity, which were making the Communist victory possible.

Jottings

Timothy G. Dyas, an Army veteran, has returned his Purple Heart to the President. He wrote that he felt our government was obviously committed to war and world domination, and added, "You can't beat a philosophy by guns, as the last war certainly proved."

* * *

The New England FOR held its annual conference in Cambridge, Mass., on November 4-6. Speakers included Caleb Foote, George Houser, Willard Uphaus and Devere Allen.

* * *

A California law prohibiting the marriage of a white person to one of Negro, Mongolian or Malayan blood was voided in October by the State Supreme Court in a 4-3 decision. The court declared that "marriage is something more than a civil contract subject to regulation by the state. It is a fundamental right of free men."

* * *

Dr. Albert Buckner Coe, FOR member and president of the Church Federation of Greater Chicago, and for the past eighteen years minister of the First Congregational Church of Oak Park, has resigned to accept the presidency of the Massachusetts Congregational Conference and Missionary Society. He will enter upon his new duties in February.

TILL DEATH US DO PART. By Charles Wesley Amlin. Introduction by Carey McWilliams. Proposes completely new marriage law. With unconventional discussion of the religio-sexual. Send $1 to Camden House, 2026 Camden Parkway, South Pasadena, Calif.

Books

Impact of Prejudice

Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man, by James Weldon Johnson. Pelican. 35c.

The past seven years have focussed the spotlight in the American scene on the relation of the Negro American to American life, as perhaps only once before in our national history. At the same time the whole question of minority-majority group relationships has been projected on a world scale. The reappearance at this juncture in fresh, inexpensive form of James Weldon Johnson's illuminating story, the fictional *Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man*, is both a timely and a welcome addition to our resources of understanding.

What is important in the book is neither plot nor character development, but the swift succession of vivid glimpses of a great diversity of Negro groups that pass before the eyes of the roving young man about whose Odyssey the tale is woven, and the insight given into the warping, cramping effect upon all these people of being always special cases. A Negro is never a boy, but a Negro boy, never a musician but a Negro musician, never a man, but a Negro man—confined to this role by the inescapable impact of racial prejudice, that "dwarfing, warping, distorting influence which operates upon each and every coloured man in the United States," today as when the book was written thirty-six years ago.

Written with the insight which only personal experience can fully give, and at the same time with a certain breadth, tolerance and detachment which only the scholar could attain, the book has value—biographical, historical, sociological—to any intelligent reader, a value enhanced by the brief biographical sketch and by the introduction by Charles S. Johnson. To members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation it will be especially welcome for what it contributes to mutual human understandings.

—Margaret C. McCulloch

Origins of Decay

Ideas Have Consequences, by Richard M. Weaver. University of Chicago Press, 1948. 190 pp. $2.75.

This is a book which traces the origins of the decay of modern life and the debacle which threatens civilization back to man's abandonment of realism and his adoption of nominalism as an outlook on life.

We live in a world, Weaver argues, where distinction and hierarchy have been wiped out; where socialist joins democrat in eliminating respect for knowledge; where learning is equated with accumulation of "facts"; and where the very basis of community is de-

stroyed by the fragmentation and specialization so exalted on every hand. Modern culture, because it has repudiated a realistic metaphysic, has quite logically exalted egotism, with its associated materialism. This egotism means, in turn, that workers are interested only in higher wages, not in contributing a good day's work; artists discard form and turn to an atrocious subjectivism; the masses labor under a "spoiled-child" psychology concerned only about more material goods; women try to imitate men instead of attempting to fulfill their function as women; and utter chaos threatens the world in general.

After painting this dreadful picture, the author does not leave us without hope. He believes that we can gradually reconstruct a world based upon realistic assumptions if we defend the absolute right of private property (but not of its distortion, corporate property) and try to establish an anti-statist, anti-collectivist, and decentralized society. The educational system of such a society would emphasize a return to such "disciplinary" subjects as Latin and Greek and would stress the value of historical continuity, at which modern culture so often scoffs. In short, because we would understand the metaphysical meaning of community, we could establish a society which was not always tending to fall apart.

With much of Weaver's description of the modern world most of us—and particularly readers of FELLOWSHIP—would probably agree. Our value judgments, too, would be similar. We, too, abominate the war that threatens us; the social disorganization characteristic of an urban civilization; the prostitution of radio and press; the stark materialism so evident on every hand. Moreover, I think we might go further with the author and agree that nominalism, professed and acted on consistently, is an invalid approach and that it leads to a destruction of moral standards.

Where I should differ with Weaver is in his apparent veneration of the Middle Ages. He seems to say throughout that since medieval thinkers *professed* realism and said they believed in the spiritual they must therefore have acted accordingly. However, I detect as much materialism and egotism, in practice, in the Middle Ages, as in modern times. I fail to see in reading the history of the popes, professed realists, that their actions were any more charitable and any less cruel than those of modern rulers. The medieval world may have *said* that human life was an absolute good, but it certainly didn't act on that belief. While Weaver thus greatly exaggerates the degree to which the medieval world applied its realistic ideals, I think he underestimates the degree to which modern man, although he may not profess realism explicitly, *acts* as though he did. The problem it seems to me, is not so much

The Reviewers

Margaret McCulloch, longtime FOR member in the South, is now a member of the faculty of LeMoyne College in Memphis. Mulford Sibley, formerly Professor of Political Science at the University of Illinois, in Urbana, is now in the Department of Political Science at the University of Minnesota.

that there is no profession of non-materialist ideals in the modern world. Rather is the question one of getting men and institutions to effect their professed ideals in practice—the same issue which confronted medieval man and which he did not meet either.

Moreover, I think Weaver at many points makes statements which are of doubtful historicity. Take this, for example: "What happens finally is that socialism, whose goal is materialism, meets the condition by turning authoritarian; that is to say, it is willing to institute control by dictation in order to raise living standards and not disappoint the consumptive soul." Can anyone truthfully say that this statement describes the socialist movements of Sweden and Great Britain? Or the philosophies of Keir Hardie, Arthur Henderson, and George Lansbury, not to speak of many others? As a matter of fact, much socialism has been as severe in its attack on modern materialism as anything that Weaver has written.

Weaver has written an able book. But one leaves it with the feeling that it is *too* neat; that its explanation of our tragic times, while having an element of validity, is greatly oversimplified.

—MULFORD Q. SIBLEY

The FOR group at Union Theological Seminary in New York has organized a News Service which takes orders for magazine subscriptions, as well as for local New York newspapers. As some magazines offer low rates to students and teachers and give the agency a considerable bonus for getting them, the Fellowship News Service has been able to turn over to the FOR, College Cevenol, IFOR and other projects, a total of $500. in the past two years. College or Seminary groups may write for more detailed information to Fellowship News Service, Union Seminary, New York City 27.

Satyagraha: THE POWER OF TRUTH

by R. R. Diwakar

• This key to the Gandhian way of life is the first attempt to penetrate the secret of Gandhi's power . . . the essence of Gandhism—Satyagraha, the force that is born of truth and love.

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• The explanation—or definition—of the eastern concept of Pacifism will be rewarding to the many millions who are pacifists at heart. $2.00

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Letters

From Leipzig

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I had to leave Poland suddenly on September 9, and am now in Leipzig, where I expect to stay. The need here is enormous, compared with the much easier life in Poland. There anyone can get along who has money, but here everything is lacking, even the greatest necessities. There is no meat, fat, butter, milk or sugar, and the two currencies separate east Germany from the other zones. It is impossible for me to get a book from the western zone, and it is there that the books appear which are most necessary to a clergyman.

Many of my Warsaw people have been displaced also, and are here before me. I could help them in Poland, by giving them the gifts sent me by my friends, but here I have little to give, and I must take some of the gifts for myself. CARE parcels cannot be sent to the Russian zone, but SAFE parcels can, as well as parcels sent by regular mail.

I am staying in a home for old people, where not one receives a religious paper or can buy one. The number of priests and ministers is much too small, and the longing for the word of God is great. Yesterday thousands of refugees from Silesia heard my sermon in the Protestant University Church. A Catholic parish in a Protestant church, a Catholic priest in a Protestant pulpit: is this not a splendid vision of peace and unity between Christians, and a glorious sign of good will between churches?

Forgive me for my forwardness in asking for gift parcels, but the need is enormous, the calls for assistance so numerous. My address is Petersteinweg 17, (10b) Leipzig C.1, Russian Zone, Germany.

May God bless you and your work,

HERMANN HOFFMANN
Leipzig, Germany

"Anarchy" Answered

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I want to answer the criticism of tax refusal made by Rev. James K. Allen in July FELLOWSHIP.

Tax refusal is not pacifism; it is anarchy. It is clear that by "anarchy" he means "breaking down orderly government." If refusers are really breaking down orderly government by their refusal to finance war, then it would follow that payers are really contributing to orderly government by their paying to finance war. If this is true, those who transgressed similar laws in Germany in the late 'thirties were also "breaking down orderly government," while the Nazis, on the other hand, stood for order. Refusers believe that one may conscientiously refuse to obey a given law for the very reason that that law is of itself the force "breaking down orderly government," and that their own disobedience to it does not further jeopardize orderly and peaceful government, but instead supports and protects it.

Tax refusal is an illegal act; that is about all you can say describing it. In this regard it is identical to Mr. Allen's refusal to obey the Selective Service Act

of 1940, for which he served a term in prison. Neither of these acts is "anarchy."

Tax refusal tends to tear down the income-tax system—the fairest revenue system yet devised. The important thing is not the weighing of the assets of the income tax over against other systems of taxation. The important thing is the consideration of the use to which these taxes are put, the manner in which they are obtained being irrelevant. If one favors paying taxes, no matter for what they are asked, merely because the income tax system is being used and because he feels that the income tax is democratic in its impressment of money, he may just as well favor conscription which is equally democratic in its impressment of men. Tax refusers are not concerned with the relative equity in either case; they are concerned with the basic premise. One good feature in an evil institution ought not to blind us to the monstrous evil of the institution itself. For example: the fact that war has stimulated the advancement of medical science does not lead us to approve the social institution of war. Both the impressment of money for war and the impressment of men for war are basically inequitable and undemocratic.

Refusal to pay income taxes is inconsistent, for obviously one cannot avoid paying some kind of federal taxes occasionally. It is true that refusing to pay any federal taxes whatever is not possible. Tax refusers have never claimed that such is possible, or that they are 100 percent consistent in their failure to oppose federal taxes absolutely. But is not a person who attempts to sever himself from supporting war by refusing such taxes as he can, more consistent than a person who likewise wants to sever himself from supporting war, but continues each year to give substantial sums for atom bombs and their like? Tax refusers feel it is better to move in the direction of consistency rather than in the opposite direction.

Why does a tax refuser pick on income taxes—the most idealistic form of taxation? The income tax provides the chief point of contact between a wage earner and the operation of government. At this point, as in no other respecting the various federal taxes, he is identified with the government as an individual and by his name. Compliance marks him a willing subject; refusal marks him an unwilling one. It is difficult to conceive of a point where a person has the opportunity of a more powerful projection of his beliefs than at this point where he meets the government in the person of the tax collector, and says "No."

The individual income tax is not a minor source of government revenue either; it is the major source. So it is not only a clear place to make a witness but also a most strategic one.

Those who refuse taxes believe that if voters were to cease putting all their reliance upon the casting of strips of paper for candidates who they hope will both win and do their bidding, and if they would instead cast their whole vote for disarmament by refusing to buy arms, the course would not only be democratic, but would be extremely effective.

Eighty percent of the national budget is now going for past, present, and future wars. So long as this is so, it is useless to act as if the major business of the government is civil functions, or peaceful pursuits.

ERNEST R. BROMLEY
Wilmington, Ohio

FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Albert Watson, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Far West:* Orval Etter, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley 3, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, Room 310, 127 S. Broadway, Los Angeles 12, Cal.

February is Brotherhood Month!

The Races of Mankind 20c

By Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish

A little classic by two anthropologists showing that while peoples differ physically there is no group or race that is superior or inferior to another.

CRUMBLING BARRIERS

By

Constance Rumbough

Acts of reconciliation and love in race relations, by individuals in the South.

40c

We Challenged Jim Crow 10c

By Bayard Rustin and George Houser

The story of the Journey of Reconciliation, when sixteen white and Negro men travelled in pairs or small groups through the South refusing to be segregated.

The Negro in America 20c

By Maxwell S. Stewart

A summary of Gunnar Myrdal's two-volume study of the Negro's place in American life.

The ABC's of Scapegoating 25c

Shows what scapegoating is, how it originates, what motivates it, and what its effects are.

To Secure These Rights

NEWSPAPER REPRINT 10c PAPER BOUND BOOK $1.00

The report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights, including a survey of discrimination in various fields, the role of government in insuring equal rights for all, and an excellent program for further advance.

ERASING THE COLOR LINE

By George Houser

Nonviolent direct action used to abolish discrimination in restaurants, theatres, and other places.

40c

Color and Conscience $2.50

By Buell Gallagher

An analysis of the "irrepressible conflict" among races in this country, which the author feels is tending to a dangerous crisis; and what the role of the church should be.

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New Publications

You Asked About the FOR

Twenty questions frequently asked about the FOR, and answers to them. For instance: How many members are there in the FOR, what does the FOR stand for, what is its program for race relations, industrial relations, world peace? The leaflet is intended as a brief introduction to the FOR and the pacifist position for non-members, and will help members articulate their point of view. Free.

Essays from Tula

By Leo Tolstoy

With a critical Introduction by Nicolas Berdyaev. A collection of Tolstoy's essays, dealing with pacifism and nonviolence, the futility and barbarism of war, slavery-like working conditions, capital punishment, and similar subjects. These essays are all either little-known or difficult to obtain in English, and will be a distinguished addition to any library of pacifist classics. $3.00.

The War Myth in United States History

By C. H. Hamlin

An analysis of the American side of that universal myth, known in every country, that its own wars are defensive and those of its enemies offensive. Discusses the myth in relation to the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the War with Mexico, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and World War I, and is brought up to date with a chapter on World War II. $.75.

ANTI-CONSCRIPTION LEAFLETS

The Army has made known its intention to push for UMT early in the new year, after Congress reconvenes. You will need ammunition for the coming campaign if this measure is to be prevented from passing.

5c each; 2c each in lots of five or more.

The Brasshat and the Atom

How the atom refutes the Army's pleas that conscription is necessary.

The Army Says . . .

What UMT will do to democracy and to physical and mental health.

Ask the Men Who Owned One!

Questions and answers about Universal Military Training.

Don't Buy a Pig in a Poke

What the cost of running a program of UMT is likely to be.

You Pays Your Money and You Takes Your Choice

America cannot afford to support the UN and ERP if it spends billions for UMT.

You'd Think We Were on the Edge of War!

Shows how much stronger we are than Russia, and that war is not inevitable.

The Two-Day War of 1968

Shows what atomic war would be like, swift, destructive and deadly.

The Congressman and the Oracle

Points out inconsistencies between public opinion polls showing pro-UMT sentiment and fact that reasons most people give are generally rejected by experts.

True or False?

Discussion of UMT and the effect such a program would have on education.

The Lieutenant Has a Miracle

Some of the facts about the Army's UMT show unit at Fort Knox.